

HORSE AND COACH IN THE ROYAL STABLES OF QUEEN ELIZABETH AND JAMES I

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Introduction

There is a continuous history of the use of horse and carriage in the public and private life of English monarchs, reflecting aristocratic practice, and forming a significant aspect of court life. There survives abundant documentation of many related activities, in public and private records, and these have been studied in a number of key works, including those of Peter Edwards and Arthur MacGregor¹, while much yet remains to be discovered.

The Tudor and Stuart monarchs

The scope of this paper reaches from Henry VIII, son of Henry Tudor (VII), his son Edward and his daughters Mary and Elizabeth:

Henry VIII (1509 - 1547)

Edward VI (1547-1553)

Mary (1553-54); Philip of Spain & Mary (1554-58)

Elizabeth (1558-1603);

¹ Peter Edwards: *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England*, 1988; *Horse and Man in Early Modern England*, 2007; Arthur MacGregor: *Animal Encounters: Human and Animal Interaction in Britain from the Norman Conquest to World War I*, 2012, and other papers cited below.

and she being without child, to the succeeding James Stuart (James VI of Scotland), his son Charles, and grandsons Charles and James:

James I (1603-1625)

Charles I (1625-1649)

[*Republic 1649-60*]

Charles II (1649-1685)

James II (1685-1688).

Royal palaces and stables

The peripatetic nature of the medieval monarchy, travelling between castles and royal houses, took in much of England (when not fighting wars in Wales, Scotland, or France), but the locus of court life in Tudor and Stuart England was a much closer circuit around London and the home counties, centred on the royal palaces near to London and ranged along the River Thames at Greenwich, Richmond, Hampton Court and Windsor, and with St James and Whitehall as the closer satellites of the traditional base at the Palace of Westminster². The formal journeys, or ‘royal progresses’ of Queen Elizabeth and James I, travelling out from London to stay in courtiers’ houses, were largely though not wholly confined to the home counties³.

The royal stables, a physical reality of all the palaces, where the horses (and carriages) were kept, was also a large department of the royal household (i.e. the domain of the Lord Chamberlain), and was under the control of the Master of the Horse. It included the acquisition and breeding of horses, their training and use in hunting and jousting, and as draught animals both for carriages and for the carts and wagons that transported the royal household and wardrobe round the country⁴.

² Simon Thurley: *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life, 1460-1547*, 1993, pp. 1-2 (fig. 5).

³ Mary Hill Cole: *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony*, 1999; John Nichols: *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities, of King James the First*, 4 vols, 1828.

⁴ Arthur MacGregor: ‘Les écuries royales des Tudors et des Stuarts: personnel et Personalités’, and Peter Edwards: ‘Les écuries des monarches anglais aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles’, in D. Roche et D. Reytiér, (eds): *Les Écuries Royales du XVIe au XVIIIe Siècles*, Versailles 1998.

The stables establishment

Master of the Horse

The Master of the Horse was an ancient office of state, and was held by especially favoured nobles in the royal entourage⁵. The office belonged to the royal household, but was separate from the Chamber and Household divisions, and the Master ranked third after the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord Steward⁶. Apart from a few earlier survivals, formal records of the office survive from the early seventeenth century, though characteristically some of these are in private archives where working records were retained by the office-holder.

MOH to Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603)

- Lord Robert Dudley, 1558–1587, created Earl of Leicester in 1564
- The Earl of Essex, 1587–1601

MOH to James I (1603-1625)

- The Earl of Worcester, c.1601–1616⁷.
- Sir George Villiers, 1616–1628, created Duke of Buckingham in 1623⁸.

MOH to Charles I (1625-1649)

- Duke of Buckingham, assassinated 1628
- Henry Rich, 1st Earl of Holland (1628)
- The Marquess of Hamilton (1628–c.1644), created Duke of Hamilton in 1643⁹.

For later office holders there is a discontinuous series of central records for the office (while other survive in records of the Wardrobe, considered below), and with material increasingly to be found in family papers¹⁰.

⁵ M. M. Reese: *Royal Office of Master of the Horse*, 1976.

⁶ G.E. Aylmer: *The King's Servants. The Civil Service of Charles I, 1625-1642* (1961), 29.

⁷ Declared Accounts in the National Archives, PRO AO1/1443/1 (April – May 1603).

⁸ See below for the Graham papers from his term of office.

⁹ Declared Accounts in PRO, E351/1748 (1638-39) and AO1/1443/2 (1638-39). The Legge (Earls of Dartmouth) papers in the Staffordshire Record Office contain correspondence of William Legge about succession to the office in c.1645, D(W)1778, etc..

¹⁰ Declared Accounts in PRO, E351/1749-1769 (for 1660 to 1715), and AO1/1444/10-16, AO1/1445/17 to 24, and AO1/1449/3 to 8; and private papers of office holders under James II (Lord Dartmouth, 1685–1689), Staffordshire Record Office, D(W)1778/132 to 134 (Royal Stables, 1660-1685); under William and Mary (Lord Overkirke, 1689-1702), Hertfordshire Record Office, DE/NA/02 to 036 (Accounts and establishment of stables, 1674-1704); and under Queen Anne (6th Duke of Somerset, 1702–1714) , in Wiltshire Record Office, WRS 1332, WRS 2056.

Masters of Ceremonies

Another important figure in the royal household was the Master of Ceremonies, a post in the Chamber, introduced in the reign of James I, ‘for the more solemn and honourable reception of Ambassadors and Strangers of Quality, whom he introduces into the Presence.’¹¹ There were only three office-holders for most of the 17th century¹²:

- 1603-1627: Sir Lewes Lewkenor (c.1560-1627)
- 1627-1641: Sir John Finet (1570/1-1641)
- 1641-1686: Sir Charles Cottrell (1615-1701)¹³.

There are some accounts from Lewkenor’s time of the costs of hiring coaches for ambassadors¹⁴, and by good fortune Finet kept a first-hand account of all his court business, of which the part covering the years 1612-1628 was published in 1656¹⁵, while his later notebooks (surviving at his successor’s home at Rousham, Oxon) were published more recently¹⁶. Finet’s essential task was receiving ambassadors and delivering them to court, and meeting their official needs. If they landed at Greenwich the King’s barge might bring them to the Tower of London where on Tower Wharf one of King’s coaches would be waiting to collect them and take them on the formal entry through the City. The papers reveal the niceties of diplomatic arrangements around the royal court: the Russian extraordinary ambassador in 1628 gave concern as to whether he was on public or commercial business, but had the use of the king’s coach; by the time of his first audience the king’s coach and six others made up his train; while an envoy (not an ambassador) of the Duke of Savoy in 1629 was not allowed by precedent to have use of the king’s coach, but managed to have the

¹¹ ‘Dependent Sub-departments: Ceremonies 1660-1837’, *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Volume 11 (revised): Court Officers, 1660-1837*, 2006, pp. 112-114. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=43790> Date accessed: 22 November 2014.

¹² All have entries in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹³ For later Cottrell and Cottrell-Dormer papers (1660-1811), see the National Archives, Master of Ceremonies, LC5/1 – 5/6.

¹⁴ British Library [BL] MS Additional 38854, f.20-22 (for 1626-1627).

¹⁵ [John Finet] *Finetti Philoxenis: Som choice observations of Sr. John Finett Knight, and Master of the Ceremonies to the two last Kings, Touching the Reception, and Precedence, the Treatment and Audience, the Puntillios and Contests of Forren Ambassadors in England*, London 1656.

¹⁶ Albert J. Loomie (ed.): *Ceremonies of Charles I. The Notebooks of John Finet Master of Ceremonies, 1628-41*, New York 1987.

use of Lord Carlisle's coach to take him to court, where he departed from precedent by managing an impromptu conversation with the king in a passage. When the Earl of Stamford was sent in the king's coach (with six others) to collect the Dutch envoys to take their leave of the king they failed to meet him at the front door on arrival or give him precedence on leaving; all duly noted by Finet¹⁷. Diplomatic rivalry was a commonplace: the French Ambassador in 1629 was concerned that his official coach should be taken for use by the newly-arrived Spanish ambassador¹⁸.

Staff roles and numbers

The size of the royal household was always extensive, with a considerable component associated with the stables, and the calls for retrenchment and economy were frequent. Figures are more easily obtainable for later reigns, and there were for example over 1850 people employed in the royal household of Charles I and 263 of them were in the Stables; while others were employed in the Queen's and Princes' households¹⁹. A full conspectus of the household office holders is only available from the reign of Charles II, when it can be seen that in addition to the stables there were other departments heavily dependent on horses, such as the Removing Wardrobe and Harbingers who dealt with accommodation and transport for the royal household moving from one place to another (along with the Riding Purveyors in the Stables), and the Keepers of Buckhounds, Staghounds and Harriers involved in all aspects of hunting²⁰. The number of people on the stables establishment are recorded on some surviving lists, and two for 1668 and 1685 have been published²¹. They show the many

¹⁷ For a later dispute on greeting at the door or on the stairs between the Venetian, French and Spanish ambassadors, see R.C. Latham and W. Matthews (eds): *Diary of Samuel Pepys IX, 1668-9*, 1976, p. 320, and the Venetian account in the *Calendar of State Papers Venetian 1666-8* (Vol. xxxv, 1935), no.359 = Venice: October 1668, 1-15', *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 35: 1666-1668, 1935*, pp. 278-295. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=90231> Date accessed: 22 November 2014.

¹⁸ Loomie: *Ceremonies of Charles I*, pp. 48-9, 53, 54, 77.

¹⁹ Aylmer: *The King's Servants*, p. 26, Table 4.

²⁰ R.O. Bucholz: *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Volume 11 (revised): Court Officers, 1660-1837*, 2006, (and online version listed above). For the compiler's online database see <http://courtofficers.ctsdh.luc.edu/>.

²¹ Arthur MacGregor, 'The Royal Stables: A Seventeenth-Century Perspective', *Antiquaries Journal* 76 (1996), pp. 181-200; both are in the Royal Archives at Windsor, 'The Booke of the Establishment of His Majesties Housholde 1668' (RA EB 10), and 'Stable Establishment Book, 1685' (RA EB 12).

areas involved in stable work, including supply, breeding, feeding, harness and saddlery, household transport, passenger transport in coaches and litters, and very importantly the organisation ('logistics') of royal travel. In 1668 Charles II had around 170 individuals working in the stables, which can be divided into the following categories:

- *General*: Clerk of the Stables; Surveyors of the Stables (4); Equerries (12); Yeoman Stirrup; Groom of the Stirrup; Yeoman riders (4); Footmen (13); Purveyors and Garnitors (11); Groom of the Hales.
- *Food*: The Avenor; Clerks of the Avery (2);
- *Blacksmith*: Sergeant Farrier; Marshal Farriers; Groom Farriers (5); Yeoman Farriers (3); Hunting Farrier.
- *Saddlery*: Yeoman saddler; Groom saddlers (2); Yeoman Mulett sadler.
- *Courser*: Grooms of the Courser stables (30).
- *Various*: Yeoman of the Male; Grooms of the Bottle horses (2); Groom of the Mules.
- *Racing*: Surveyor of the Race; Groom saddler.
- *Hunting*: Grooms of the Hunting stables (30); Riders of the hunting horse (?).
- *Coaches*: Coachmaker; Coachmen (6) and their postillions; Littermen (9); Charriott Driver.
- *Carriages*: Sergeant of the carriages; Grooms of the carriage (2); Yeomen of the Close Carriage (2).
- *Transport*: Yeoman packman; Grooms sumptermen (9).

The queen's stable at the same time had over 50 staff, while on the 1685 list of the establishment at the beginning of James II reign listed a minimum of 85 salaried individuals, though this is unlikely to have been their total number²². In addition to staff, there were also the carriages and equipment required for the 'removing wardrobe', and for Charles II and his queen in 1668 there were about 68 carts or carriages for the king and 60 for the queen²³. Under William and Mary the list of carriages allowed in 1689 for moving the household came to a total of 77 for the King and 50 for the Queen²⁴:

²² MacGregor: 'The Royal Stables', pp. 193-6.

²³ *Ibidem*, pp. 191-2.

²⁴ *A collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, Made in Divers Reigns. From King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary.* (Society of Antiquaries, 1790), pp. 414-7.

| | <i>Chamber</i> | <i>Household</i> | <i>Stable</i> | <i>Totals</i> |
|---------------|----------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>King</i> | 38 ½ | 31 ½ | 7 | 77 |
| <i>Queen</i> | 32 | 15 ½ | 3 | 50 ½ |
| <i>Totals</i> | 70 ½ | 47 | 10 | 127 ½ |

Costs and retrenchment

In 1689 the stables of William and Mary were reckoned to cost £16,400 a year²⁵. In Henry VIII's reign according to the reckoning in the 1525 'Eltham Ordinances' the annual provision of horse feed for the king's and officers' horses was in excess of £1070, and the cost of departmental wages and allowances came to £1132²⁶. By Charles II's reign the feed cost was computed as over £8000 per annum²⁷. A summary produced for Queen Elizabeth in 1585 gave comparative figures for horses (probably excluding wages)²⁸:

| | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------------|--------------|
| <i>Henry</i> | <i>Edward</i> | <i>Mary</i> | <i>Elizabeth</i> | <i>Elizabeth</i> | <i>James</i> |
| (1541) | (1552) | (1554) | (1585) | (1600) | (1603) |
| £648 | £1,901 | £882 | £1,670 | £2,901 | £5,577 |

At the time of the great retrenchment of James I's household in 1617 a current figure of household expenditure of £85,500 was compared with an average of £29,452 for the last five years of Elizabeth's reign; out of which the wardrobe costs had risen from an average of £9845 to £30,000.²⁹

House numbers and breeding

The number of horses in the royal stables was considerable, when the horses for the king's (and queen's) use was added to those made available for

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

²⁶ Reese: *Master of the Horse*, p. 138; the text is given in *A collection of Ordinances* (1790), pp. 135-207.

²⁷ Arthur MacGregor: 'The Household out of Doors: The Stuart Court and the Animal Kingdom', in E. Cruickshanks (ed.), *The Stuart Courts*, 2000, p. 95.

²⁸ 'An Abstracte of the Charges of her ma^{ties} Stable for the Coursers, geldings etc. taken out of the severall accompts following', PRO LC5/32, pp 210-11; with later figures from Wardrobe Accounts LC9/90 fol 21v, and LC9/93 fol 32.

²⁹ R.H. Tawney: *Business and Politics under James I: Lionel Cranfield as Merchant and Minister*, 1958, p. 152 note.

court officials. In 1668 the number of mounts supplied for the royal stables staff alone totalled 61 horses and 90 hackneys³⁰, while other listings include the number of wagons and carriages required for removals, as noted above. The post-mortem Inventory of Henry VIII in 1547 provides an overall listing of horses on the royal establishment, including 153 horses in the stables:

Coursers 45; Barbary horses 5; Jennetts 6; Stallions 11; Hobbies and Geldings 15;
Mules 5; Pack horse 1; Male horse 1; Bottle horses 3; Stalke horse 1.
Horses for transporting the Close car 5; the Wagons 3; the Closet 1; Robes 1; Pantry 1; Ewer 1; Cellar 1; Privy Kitchen 1; Scullery 1.
The carriage mulettes 22; Litter mulettes 6; King's foal 1; Stool horse 1

In addition to these, the numbers of horses in the various studs are totalled at 834, giving an overall total of 987³¹.

A comparative reckoning was made in the 1580s of the number of horses in the royal stables from Henry VIII to Elizabeth and is preserved in the stable records³²:

| <i>Category</i> | <i>Henry</i> | <i>Edward</i> | <i>Mary</i> | <i>Elizabeth</i> |
|-----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|
| | <i>(1541)</i> | <i>(1552)</i> | <i>(1554)</i> | <i>(1585)</i> |
| Coursers | 36 | 36 | 30 | 40 |
| Geldings | 32 | 20 | 24 | 24 |
| Litter Mules | 4 | 4 | ? | 6 |
| Coach horses | — | — | — | 15 |
| <i>Totals</i> | <i>72</i> | <i>60</i> | <i>54</i> | <i>85</i> |

And also unnumbered categories: Jennets, Stole horse, Male horse, Bottle horse, Packe horse, Sumpter horse, and Bessage horse.

For the 17th century, further comparisons can be made between Charles I and Charles II³³.

³⁰ MacGregor: 'The Royal Stables', pp. 189-91.

³¹ D. Starkey and P. Ward (eds): *The Inventory of Henry VIII: The Transcript*, Society of Antiquaries Research Report 56 (1988), pp. 163-5.

³² *An Abstracte of the Chardes of her majesties Stable for the Coursers, geldings etc. taken out of the severall accompts folowing.* (PRO LC5/32, pp 210–11).

³³ The figures for Charles I are deduced from wardrobe warrants printed in Arthur MacGregor: 'Horsegear, Vehicles and Stable Equipment at the Stuart Court: A Documentary Archaeology', *Archaeological Journal* 153 (1996), pp. 148-200; those for Charles II are from Establishment lists printed in Arthur MacGregor: 'The Royal Stables', pp. 181-200.

| | <i>Charles I</i> | | <i>Charles II</i> | |
|-----------------|------------------|-------------|-------------------|---------------|
| | <i>1626</i> | <i>1628</i> | <i>1668 K</i> | <i>1668 Q</i> |
| Coursers | [] | 120 | 43 | |
| Geldings | 20 | 20 | 60 | 20 |
| Hunting | 20 | 20 | | |
| Pads | 5 | | | |
| Coach | 45 | 45 | 30 | 29 |
| Mr of Horse (K) | 4 | 4 | 4 | ~ |
| Mr of Horse (Q) | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Stoole | 1 | 1 | 1 | ~ |
| Male | 2 | 1 | | 1 |
| Bottle | 7 | 7 | 5 | 2 |
| Pack | 1 | 1 | 1 | ~ |
| Sumpter | 4 | 4 | 9 | 8 |
| Carriage | 4 | 4 | ~ | ~ |
| Litter | 8 | 8 | ~ | ~ |
| Close | 4 | 4 | ~ | ~ |
| | | | | |

The numbers of coach horses can be taken forward and back: Queen Elizabeth had 28 in 1590, James II had 24 in 1685, and William and Mary 44 and 38 respectively in 1694-5³⁴.

Horse Breeding and Imports

The improvement of English horse breeds was a concern from at least the reign of Henry VIII, and the crown led the way in the Acts to restrict exports and encourage domestic breeding³⁵. The more sought-after breeds included Turkish, Arab, and Barbary horses, but these could be difficult to obtain (because of restrictions on their export). More easily available were the heavy European breeds - German horses ('Almains') and those from Flanders. The Neapolitan coursers were much valued for their Arab blood, and these were

³⁴ Peter Edwards: 'Les écuries des monarches anglais aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles' cited above, p. 159; and MacGregor: 'The Royal Stables', p. 193.

³⁵ Peter Edwards: *The Horse Trade in Tudor and Stuart England* (1988); Arthur MacGregor: 'Strategies for improving English Horses' in *Anthropozoologica* 29 (1999), pp. 65-73.

acquired by Henry VIII from the Gonzaga stable in Mantua. The Spanish horses of Andalusia known as ‘Jennets’ became more accessible after James I made peace with Spain, and the infamous journey of Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham in 1623 to Madrid to seek the hand of the Infanta Maria Anna was in that respect unsuccessful, but they returned with 60 Spanish horses for the King and 30 for the Duke³⁶.

In addition to imports, domestic breeding on royal stud farms was an essential part of the policy, and Henry established (or reorganised) the stud farms at Tutbury (Staffordshire) and Malmesbury (Wiltshire)³⁷. The stock lists of the English and Welsh studs are given in Henry VIII’s post-mortem inventory³⁸. The imports contributed to the breeding programme, and a survey of 1576 recorded the presence of horses with Neapolitan, Spanish, Barbary and Turkish blood in the stud stallions and mares³⁹. James I also had studs at Eltham and Hampton Court, nearer to London, and with the development of an interest of the Stuart monarchs in racing, there were continued imports through the 17th century, including famously the six Barbary horses from the Moroccan ambassador that came as part of the dowry of Charles II’s queen Catherine of Braganza⁴⁰.

Stables and Riding Schools

The royal stables were established at Charing Cross, between London and Westminster (on the site of The National Gallery in Trafalgar Square) by Henry VIII; they were known as the Mews from their origins as the home of the king’s Falconry department, and were rebuilt several times until removed to Buckingham Palace where the present Royal Mews were built by Nash in 1822-4. In 1686 Christopher Wren stated that there was room for 300 horses and 30 coaches in the Royal Mews⁴¹. Tudor royal stables survive at Hampton Court, built in 1537-38 and with the space carefully divided between the king’s and other horses. They were extended in 1570 for Queen Elizabeth, partly to accommodate her new coaches (a coach house had been added to the Charing Cross Mews in 1568), while other stables around London were also being

³⁶ MacGregor: ‘Household out of Doors’, p. 94.

³⁷ C.M. Prior: *The Royal Studs of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 1935.

³⁸ Starkey and Ward: *Inventory of Henry VIII*, pp. 163-6.

³⁹ MacGregor: ‘Strategies’, p. 69.

⁴⁰ MacGregor, ‘Household out of Doors’, pp. 94-5.

⁴¹ *The Royal Mews at Buckingham Palace* official guidebook, 2011; H.M. Colvin et al.: *History of the King’s Works V 1660-1782*, 1976, pp. 207-13, plan Fig. 12; J.M. Crook and M.H. Port: *History of the King’s Works VI 1782-1851*, 1973, pp. 303-7.

provided. The royal stables at Hampton Court, the Mews and the palaces of St James's and Greenwich were built on a quadrangular plan, distinct from the earliest surviving private ones which are built as long ranges⁴². There is a design by Robert Smythson for new stables for King James I at Theobald's Palace, Hertfordshire, 1607-10; these were built on a grand scale, in a quadrangle over 36 m. square and with a large hay barn opposite the entrance gateway – perhaps serving as the model for the Earl of Northumberland's stables built later at Petworth House, Sussex⁴³.

Riding Schools

Smythson was also called upon to design a riding house for King James I and the young Prince Henry (d.1612) at St James's Palace in 1607⁴⁴. The practice of *haute école*, the riding of the great horse, had been introduced from Italy to the court of Henry VIII, and was developed as a royal and aristocratic recreation. Already in 1514 the Mantuan horses given to Henry by the Marquis had been exercised 'in the Spanish fashion' by his envoy Giovanni Ratto, while other Italians stayed on, like Hannibal Zinzano of Modena, a farrier who came with the coursers in 1519 and whose remained as a court horsemen (and spare riders at tournaments) in following reigns. Although the *haute école* was popular in Elizabethan England and practised by courtiers (and reflected in the writings of Sir Philip Sidney and William Shakespeare) there is no evidence of the building of indoor riding schools⁴⁵. Prince Henry was trained by the French riding instructor Monsieur de St Antoine who was sent over by Henri IV on the accession of James I, and taught both Henry and Prince Charles; after Henry's death in 1612 M. Antoine continued as Charles' instructor. Horsemanship was glorified in painting: Prince Henry was painted on his mount by Peake, and Charles I by Vandyke, with M. Antoine in attendance⁴⁶.

Smythson's school at St James Palace was an open roofed space 38 x 13 m, with a heated gallery at one end. He also designed two riding schools for William Cavendish (1592-1676), the Duke of Newcastle, in 1622 at Welbeck

⁴² Giles Worsley: *The British Stable: An Architectural and Social History*, 2004, pp. 21-3; Simon Thurley: *Hampton Court A Social and Architectural History*, 2003, p. 85; H.M. Colvin et al.: *History of the King's Works III 1485-1660 (Part I)*, 1975, pp. 79-80. For accounts of works on the Queen's stables, 1577-1594 see the National Archives, PRO E.351/3340 to 3348.

⁴³ Worsley: *British Stable*, pp. 74-5, Figs. 68-69.

⁴⁴ Worsley: *British Stable*, p. 61, Fig. 55.

⁴⁵ Worsley: *British Stable*, pp. 55-7.

⁴⁶ MacGregor: 'Household out of Doors', pp. 87-90; Edwards: *Horse and Man*, p. 29.

Abbey (Nottinghamshire), and the famous example that still exists from the 1630s at Bolsover Castle (Derbyshire). The court architect Inigo Jones designed riding houses for contemporaries of Prince Henry at Hatfield and Syon Park⁴⁷. Cavendish, who was himself to be the instructor of Prince Charles (II) was an authority on the subject of *haute école*, and wrote *La methode et inuention nouuelle de dresser les cheuaux* (1658)⁴⁸, illustrated by the Antwerp artist Abraham van Diepenbeeck (and includes views of both Welbeck and Bolsover)

Close to the palaces in London (at Richmond, Greenwich and Whitehall/St James') there were deer parks that could be used for hunting and exercise. Hyde Park had been acquired by Henry VIII for hunting, and was gradually opened for public access by James I and Charles I. It was walled and stocked with deer in the reign of Charles II, but the perimeter road had already become a place for public circulation in carriages and an occasion for fashionable display by London society (it remains today as a place of equestrian exercise)⁴⁹.

Tournaments and Hunting

Tournaments were a regular part of court life, and a provided sport and horsemanship at the same time as experience of military field practice⁵⁰. Typically occurring on occasions such as coronations, anniversaries and birthdays, the great occasion in Henry VIII's reign was the meeting with Francois I at the Field of Cloth of Gold near Calais in 1520⁵¹. The English territory in the Calais pale was quite extensive, and the 'field' was between the English town of Guines and the French town of Ardres, where a tiltyard was laid out with a grandstand for viewing and 'Tree of Honour'. The young King Henry was more energetic and less overweight than in his later years, and wearing specially made armour performed feats of arms with the French king Francois premier at the Field. Back at home a tiltyard was built at Hampton

⁴⁷ Worsley: *British Stable*, pp. 63-6.

⁴⁸ Translated as *A New Method and Extraordinary Invention to Dress Horses and Work them according to Nature...* (1667). For Cavendish, see Lucy Worsley: *Cavalier. A Tale of Chivalry, Passion and Great Houses*, 2007.

⁴⁹ For Hyde Park, see 'Forestry', in *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 2*, ed. William Page, London 1911, pp. 223-251 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol2/pp223-251> [accessed 4 January 2015]; R. Latham and W. Matthews (eds): *The Diary of Samuel Pepys IV 1663* (1971), p. 95 and note; *Diary of Samuel Pepys IX 1668-9*, 1976, p. 487.

⁵⁰ Alan Young: *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, 1987; the Appendix (pp.196-208) lists all known tournaments from 1485 to 1626.

⁵¹ Glenn Richardson: *The Field of Cloth of Gold*, 2013, 120 ff.

Court, with towers and ‘castles’ overlooking the ground, and remained in regular use.

| | | 1510s | 1520s | 1530s | 1540s | 1550s | 1560s | 1570s | 1580s | 1590s |
|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Henry VIII | | 24 | 14 | 2 | 3 | | | | | |
| Edward VI | | | | | 2 | 11 | | | | |
| Mary | | | | | | 8 | | | | |
| Elizabeth | | | | | | 5 | 11 | 11 | 19 | 17 |
| | 1600s | 1610s | 1620s | | | | | | | |
| Elizabeth | 6 | | | | | | | | | |
| James I | 16 | 23 | 8 | | | | | | | |

Table: Number of Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments, by decade (source: Young 1987)

Under Queen Elizabeth joists continued on a regular basis, and were occasions for displays of chivalric devotion to the virgin queen and competition between her admiring courtiers. The arrangements for the tilts were highly organised, with formal arrangements of challenges and lists; there was a whole literature of challenges, with the choice of emblems and the accompanying poetic effusions. In the reign of James I regular tournaments were arranged as Accession Day entertainments; Prince Henry was especially keen and the King participated, and there was associated pageantry organised by Inigo Jones. The fashion did not last long into Charles I's reign. The physical provision for tournaments were the Tiltyards at the palaces of Richmond, Greenwich and Hampton Court; and even one in the centre of Whitehall (opposite Charles I's Banqueting House, now the Horse Guards)⁵².

Hunting

Hunting was always a major aspect of court life, involving a large number of men, horses and dogs in its organisation, and with its own formalised rituals of the chase and the kill⁵³. The royal forests were maintained with a stock of

⁵² MacGregor: 'Household out of Doors', pp. 88-9; Young: *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, pp. 101-22.

⁵³ For hunting, see MacGregor: *Animal Encounters* (see note 1), chapter 1; MacGregor: 'The King's Disport: Sports, Games and Pastimes of the Early Stuarts', in MacGregor (ed.): *The Late King's Goods: Collections, Possessions and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the*

deer⁵⁴, and domestic parks around country houses were often of a size suitable for deer hunting. Falconry was practised, there were royal otter hounds, while fox hunting gradually developed as a separate activity and became more fashionable. The provision of horses and dogs (the royal buckhounds) was an essential part of the apparatus for court hunting, and thus the needs of the chase must have had a considerable impact on the daily work of the stables.

For all the Tudor and Stuart monarchs, hunting was an important part of the daily routine (just as it was to be for Louis XIV), and many hours could be spent each day in the field, engaged in healthy outdoor exercise. Such was the devotion of James I to the field that his lengthy absences with his chosen companions was a source of irritation to courtiers and visiting ambassadors who wished to see him⁵⁵.

Horse and Stable Equipment

Records of the royal stables survive in abundance, and account for a large annual expenditure on horses, equipment (harness and saddlery) and vehicles. Apart from the appearance of the coach in the reigns of Queen Mary and Elizabeth there was little change in these, and the publication of the stable warrants of Charles I give a very good indication of the amount that was required to supply the stables⁵⁶.

Although the stables were supervised by the Master of the Horse, the supplies were directed through the Wardrobe, under the Lord Chamberlain. From the reign of Elizabeth there is an extensive series of orders (warrants) for work or payment for work, and annual accounts for expenditure. Although the Chamberlain's (PRO 'LC' series) accounts in the National Archives are incomplete, many of the gaps are filled by the duplicate accounts made by the Audit Office (PRO 'AO' series). Before 1558 there are some equivalent materials, but not the general coverage, such as the surviving individual accounts in Chancery (C) and Exchequer (E) records. These include miscellaneous items like 1555-6 stables accounts of Queen Mary⁵⁷, and 1589-90 stable expenses of Queen Elizabeth⁵⁸. For the reigns of Henry VII and VIII there

Commonwealth Sale Inventories, 1989, pp. 403-21; MacGregor: 'Household out of Doors', pp. 98-105.

⁵⁴ Arthur MacGregor: 'Deer on the Move: Relocation of Stock between Game Parks in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' in *Anthropozoologica* 16 (1992), pp. 167-79.

⁵⁵ MacGregor: 'Household out of Doors', pp. 98-9 for the complaints of the Venetian envoy.

⁵⁶ Arthur MacGregor: 'Horsegear' (above note 33), discussed further below.

⁵⁷ The National Archives, PRO E.407/32.

⁵⁸ PRO E.101/107/33 (8 ms, 31 & 32 Elizabeth).

is a general list of Wardrobe warrants and accounts, and a printed text of two accounts for the stables in 1511⁵⁹. This accounts includes harness, saddles, stirrups, and all manner of decorative fabric and metalwork to adorn horses for special occasions, while the second one specifically accounts for the provision of large numbers of bits and bosses, harness, etc. for 57 Coursers, and for 5 Hobbies, two Packhorses, four Bottle horses, a Stool, Mail and Besage horse, as well as repairs to the wagon ('close car') for the robes, and making saddles for nine henchmen⁶⁰. Queen Elizabeth's stable accounts (discussed further below) are almost complete for the whole of her reign, but only her clothes wardrobe has been studied in detail⁶¹.

| | <i>Warrants</i> | <i>Accounts</i> | <i>Other</i> |
|--------------------------|---|---|--|
| Pre-Elizabeth | LC.5/31 – 5/32 (various 1540s-1550s) | LC.9/51 – 9/52 (<i>inc Philip & Mary</i>) | Particulars see Hayward GW a/c of H8 Wardrobe accounts in C.47, E.101, E.351, E.364 |
| Elizabeth (1558-1603) | LC.5/32-37 (complete) | LC.9/53 – LC9/93 (<i>almost complete</i>) AO.3/1106 - /1114 | Wardrobe accounts as above |
| James I (1603-1625) | LC.5/37 (to 1603) (incomplete) | LC.9/93 – LC9/98 AO.3/1115 - /1119 (<i>missing 1615-1618</i>) | Grahme papers |
| Charles I (1625-1649) | LC.5/38; LC 5/78 (incomplete) | LC.9/99 – LC9/103 AO.3/1121 (<i>missing 1640-1649</i>) | |

The stable accounts of Henry and Elizabeth are similar in their contents to those of the following century that have been published by Arthur MacGregor. He has printed in full the one surviving set of stable warrants for Charles I of 1626-30⁶²; they are warrants for carrying out the work and provide a huge amount of detail about horse fittings and harness. The related accounts, which were thought not to have survived, have only subsequently been identified,

⁵⁹ Maria Hayward: *The Great Wardrobe Accounts of Henry VII and Henry VIII* (London Record Society 47, 2012), pp. 185-188 (list), pp. 137-148 (account, PRO E.101/417/4, ff.35-40).

⁶⁰ Hayward: *Great Wardrobe Accounts*, pp. 139-148.

⁶¹ Janet Arnold: *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd*, 1988.

⁶² Arthur MacGregor: 'Horsegear, Vehicles and Stable Equipment at the Stuart Court: A Documentary Archaeology', *Archaeological Journal* 153 (1996), pp. 148-200; the source for these is PRO LC.5/78.

since the payments were made a decade in arrears⁶³. The accounts give an equal amount of detail on costs of materials and the names of craftsmen.

While the official records exist in large quantities, office papers were as likely to be taken home as deposited, and there are scattered groups of Wardrobe and Stables papers in private archives. The Graham of Norton Conyers papers in the British Library contain an important group of papers relating the stables of the Duke of Buckingham and of James I, while for Charles II there are in the papers of Col. Bullen Reynes papers in the Wiltshire Record Office, and for James II the accounts of Sir William Villiers at Petworth House, Sussex⁶⁴.

Coaches

The origins of the coach remains somewhat mysterious, but they seem to have developed in Hungary in the late 15th century as a fast, light road vehicle used by men rather than women, associated with the town of Kocs on the road between Vienna and Budapest, and promoted by Matthias Corvinus the King of Hungary. Contemporary evidence would suggest that they were taken back to Italy by Hippolite D'Este and gradually spread around Europe. In the years around 1550 the 'coach' makes its appearance in several European countries as a new fashion, and the word enters many languages; and despite the imputation of effeminacy they were widely used by men. Within a short time they were used by royalty, aristocrats, and then others and (along with the four-wheeled wagon) contributed to a transport revolution that saw traffic jams in cities – and led London's historian John Stow to remark that 'the world runs on wheels with many, whose parents were glad to go on foot.'⁶⁵

⁶³ The accounts relating to these warrants are not in the main Wardrobe series (PRO, LC9) but in the Audit Office duplicate accounts for 1626-1630 (PRO, AO 3/1119 and 3/1120), which confusingly originate from later warrants for payment, dated 1635-1636.

⁶⁴ British Library, Add. Mss. 81599 (Graham): Wiltshire Record Office, Chafyn 865/440-439 (Reynes): West Sussex Record Office, PHA 6304 (Villiers).

⁶⁵ J. Munby: 'From Carriage to Coach, What Happened?', in R. Bork and A. Kann (eds): *The Art, Science, and Technology of Medieval Travel*. AVISTA Studies in the History of Medieval Technology, Science, and Art Vol. 6, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008, pp. 41-53; this is preparatory to a longer work in preparation: *Medieval Carriages and the Origins of the Coach: The Archaeology of the European Transport Revolution*. The standard account of early coaches in Europe remains that of G. Gozzadini: *Dell'Origine e dell'Uso dei Cocchi e di Due Veronesi in particolare*, pp.1-49, Bologna, 1862, a pre-print of its eventual publication in *Atti e memorie della Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per le provincie di Romagna*, [Serie I] Anno II, Fasc. 2, Bologna, 1866, pp. 199-249.

The first coach in England may have been the 1557 gift from Venice to Queen Mary (1553–58), though tradition gives the coach of the Earl of Rutland made in 1555 as the first, and Queen Elizabeth (1558–1603) had the first of her many coaches in 1564⁶⁶. What constituted a ‘coach’ is rather a mystery, and it was certainly not either the means of suspension of a box on straps (which had emerged much earlier), or the use of springs (which came much later)⁶⁷. Whatever the tradition of the Hungarian ‘kotchi’, this new concept in travel became associated with narrow square-sided four-poster carriage bodies, such as are depicted in the view of Queen Elizabeth visiting Nonsuch, and the earliest examples of which survive today at Veste Coburg⁶⁸.

Queen Elizabeth’s coaches

Queen Elizabeth spent extraordinary amounts on forty years of building and fitting out her coaches with gold and silver silk and other fabrics (typically more than £500 of fabric on a £200 body), while her later coaches (and those of James I) were painted and decorated by court painters. The records for these are found in the Wardrobe warrants (as described above), and they describe in great detail the furnishing and decoration of the coaches, while the Wardrobe accounts give the costs of every yard of cloth and length of silk and weight of silver and gold. These have been analysed at length⁶⁹, and a summary of the coaches that the Queen’s had made (or was given) is shown in the following table:

⁶⁶ J. Munby: ‘From Whirlecole to the Worlds on Wheels: Episodes in the early History of London Transport’, in Jonathan Cotton et al. (eds): *‘Hidden Histories and Records of Antiquity’: Essays on Saxon and Medieval London for John Clark, Curator Emeritus, Museum of London*. London and Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper 17, 2014, pp. 152–59; J. Munby: ‘Queen Elizabeth’s Coaches: The Wardrobe on Wheels’, *Antiquaries Journal* LXXXIII (2003), pp. 311–367.

⁶⁷ Munby: ‘From Carriage to Coach’, p. 45, 53.

⁶⁸ Illus. In Munby: ‘Queen Elizabeth’s Coaches’, p. 312 (Coburg), p. 313 (Nonsuch); for Coburg see Rudolf H. Wackernagel: ‘Zur Geschichte der Kutsche bis zum ende des 17. Jahrhunderts’, in W. Treue (ed.): *Achse, Rad und Wagen*, Göttingen, 1986 edn, pp. 197–235; and Axel Gelbhaar: ‘Die Kobelwagen, Karossen und Kutschen im Besitz der Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg’, in *Achse, Rad und Wagen, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Landfahrzeuge* no. 7 (1999), pp. 79–89.

⁶⁹ Munby: ‘Queen Elizabeth’s Coaches’, prints summaries of all the warrants and accounts.

| Date | Vehicle | Colour - external | Colour - internal | Maker | Costs |
|------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| 1564 | Coach I | 'Ship Coach - Blue velvet | Purple taffeta | Lewis Stocket | £402 |
| 1567 | Coach II | Purple damask | Purple satin | Ric. Pye | £351 |
| 1567 | Arundel coach | | | | <i>Gift</i> |
| 1570 | Coach III | Cloth of gold/silver | Crimson satin | Walt. Ripon | £411 |
| 1571 | Coach IV | Black velvet | Green taffeta | Walt. Ripon | £684 |
| 1574 | Coach V | Black velvet | Green taffeta | Walt. Ripon | £822 |
| 1580 | Coach VI | Black velvet | Orange tawny taffeta | Walt. Ripon | £782 |
| 1581 | Carroche VII | Red leather | Blue velvet | Walt. Ripon | £423 |
| 1584 | Chariot VIII | [Parliament coach] – Cloth of silver | White satin | Walt. Ripon | £630 |
| 1584 | Coach IX | Crimson Turkey leather | Straw coloured taffeta | Ric. Fisher | £627 |
| 1588 | Cavendish coach | Crimson Turkey leather | Straw coloured taffeta | | [£193] <i>Gift</i> |
| 1590 | Coach X | 'Great Coach' - Cloth of silver | Russet satin | Ric. Fisher | £1003 |
| 1593 | Carewe coach | Tawny orange velvet | | | [£283] <i>Gift</i> |
| 1599 | Chariot XI | Watchet velvet | Wrought satin | Robt. More | £1123 |
| 1601 | Cobham chariot | Hide leather | Cotton? | Robt. More | [£99] |

Table: Queen Elizabeth's Coaches

The table gives the description of the coaches, the predominant colour or fabric of the coach cover and lining, the name of the coachmaker responsible for the bodywork, and the costs of either the basic bodywork, or the overall cost of the work. Source: Wardrobe Warrants and Accounts (Munby 2003)

Coaches in the 16th and 17th century

It is difficult to find representations of coaches in the late 16th century and many, like the round-topped travelling carriages seen in Flemish paintings, seem to have changed little from the medieval type. An excellent and detailed drawing of one such is to be seen in drawing of 'Five covered wagons' by Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625) in Dresden⁷⁰. The only illustration of a Hungarian style 'Kutsche', dated 1568, shows a light vehicle with a driver and several

⁷⁰ Dresden, Kupferstich Kabinett, Inv. C 832; reproduced in *Cent dessins de maîtres anciens du Cabinet des Estampes de Dresde* (Brussels Exhibition, 1967), no. 19, pl. VII;

passengers, but no means of suspension⁷¹. The two wedding carriages at Veste Coburg, dating from 1561 and 1586 are the oldest examples of the new style of upright carriage, and both may be regarded as a 'coach' with its upright corner posts⁷².

Illustrations

In the years around 1600 a new type of coach came into use across Europe, as can be seen in many contemporary paintings. Compared with the earlier ones, these are larger, more generously proportioned 'four-posters', like those depicted in the so-called *Stockholm Roll* of the 1605 wedding procession in Krakow of King Sigismund III and Archduchess Constance of Austria⁷³. These coaches were covered with black leather, or painted and decorated, richly upholstered and hung with curtains, with a roof canopy supported on four or eight posts, but had no fixed windows. They were suspended on leather straps and did not have springs. There are only two surviving examples of these new style coaches: the one taken to Moscow in 1604 as a gift for Boris Godunov from the Muscovy Company of London, and the travelling coach of King Filipe II driven into Lisbon during his triumphal entry of 1619, discussed below. Illustrations of early coaches in London survive in *Alba Amicorum* kept by travellers in the 16th and early 17th century: a coach with a decorated black leather body is one of the plates in the Huntington *Album* of Hieronymus Tielsch, acquired on his visit to London in c.1603 (Fig. 1), and an almost identical one was included in the Edinburgh *Album* of Michael van Meer of 1614-15⁷⁴. There was sometimes a marked transport theme in Album illustrations, as witness the plates of the 1626 album of Adriaen Van de Venne associated with the House of Orange⁷⁵.

⁷¹ J. Schemel: 'Gutschiwagen' drawing, 1568; illustrated by Lazlo Tarr, *The History of the Carriage* (1969) pl. LII; and Wackernagel, 'Geschichte der Kutsche', p. 209.

⁷² See ref. 68 above, and Munby: 'From Carriage to Coach', p. 45, 53.

⁷³ Reproduced in T. Zurawska: *Paradne Pojazdy W Polsce XVI-XVIII Wieku*, Krakow, 1989, loose Pl. I; the best reproduction of the coach details in colour is in S. Bessone: *National Coach Museum*, Lisbon 1993, pp. 112, 116-17; exhibition catalogue entry in J.K. Ostrowski: *Land of the Winged Horsemen. Art in Poland 1572-1764*, Alexandria, VA, 1999, No. 1, pp. 103-5.

⁷⁴ June Schlueter: 'Hieronymus Tielsch in England, c.1603', Huntington Library Quarterly forthcoming; illustrated in Munby: 'From Whirlecole to the Worlds on Wheels' (above note 66); for van der Meer see June Schlueter: *The Album Amicorum and the London of Shakespeare's Time*, 2011.

⁷⁵ Martin Royalton-Kisch: *Adriaen Van Der Venne's Album*, 1988.

Diplomatic gifts

By the early seventeenth century the coach had become a high-status gift accepted as appropriate for royal and imperial exchange and succeeded the fine horses that had so often been presented by rulers to one another. As early as 1599 Elizabeth I sent a 'great and curious present' to 'the Grand Turk' Sultan Mohamed III. The gift included a mechanical organ for the harem at the Topkapı Palace, delivered by its maker, Thomas Dallam, who eventually returned and published an account of his adventures⁷⁶. Travelling with him was the coachman Edward Hale, who delivered the coach. An earlier embassy, in 1593, had led to an exchange of presents with the 'Sultana' Safiye (first Lady of the Harem), and later it was suggested that Queen Elizabeth should 'retorne a coache richelye furnished' with her answers to the Sultana's letters⁷⁷. The embassy arrived at Constantinople in August 1599, and the coach 'of six hundred pounds value' was given to the Sultana by the ambassador's secretary, Mr Paul Pindar. The Queen Mother (as she now was) 'did take great liking to Mr Pinder' as well as the coach, rewarded the coachman, and took to riding in her new carriage. In a charming sequel to this event the Sultana asked for a portrait of Elizabeth, and then sent her own presents and a personal letter of thanks, written and sealed in the harem, which still survives today⁷⁸.

Another example was the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe (1581–1644), sent by James I to India in 1615–16, as ambassador to the Mogul Jahangir (r. 1605–27) at Ajmer, with the aim of establishing an English place in Indian trade. Again the embassy is recorded in contemporary accounts, and gifts included a coach, complete with coachman and musicians. Roe was embarrassed by the coach's faded fabrics and the lack of horses, but the coach was drawn by bullocks and then by hand into the royal court, where it was received successfully, and the Mogul was pulled around in the coach, attired in English fashion, to the accompaniment of music. Later the coach was re-upholstered and given to his Queen Nur Jahan, while further replica coaches were made for the royal court, sumptuously adorned with Indian fabrics, driven by the English coachman (in

⁷⁶ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1598–1601*, 156 (January 1599); Stanley Mayes, *An Organ for the Sultan* (1956).

⁷⁷ S.A. Skilliter: 'Three Letters from the Ottoman "Sultana" Safiye to Queen Elizabeth I' in S.M. Stern: *Documents from Islamic Chanceries*, Oriental Studies 3 (Oxford 1965), pp. 119–57.

⁷⁸ Dallam's diary, in J.D. Bent (ed.): *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, Hakluyt Society 87, 1893, p. 63; Henry Lello to Cecil, National Archives, PRO SP 97/4, fol. 49, quoted by Skilliter in Stern 1965, p. 150; and PRO SP 102/4, fols 5 and 19, edited by Skilliter in Stern 1965, as documents II and III.

equally sumptuous Indian livery). The Great Mogul even rode off to war with this curious procession of English coaches⁷⁹.

The Moscow Coach

None of these gifts survive, but an embassy from the London Muscovy Company to the Tsar Boris Godunov in 1604 included as a present a 'charryott' which has been preserved in the Kremlin (along with much English Silver) as one of the most remarkable and least-studied objects of the period, complete with painted decoration, sculpture, furniture, and fabrics⁸⁰. The English archives preserve the ambassador's instructions, the present is documented by its own delivery note, preserved in the Moscow archives (Fig. 2), and an account of the embassy was published in the following year⁸¹.

Sir Thomas Smith (1558?-1625) was a Haberdasher and Skinner of London, Sheriff of London in 1599, Governor of the East India Company in 1606 and founder of the Virginia Company in 1609. Following the successful visit of a Russian Ambassador to London in 1600-1601, he took the coach as present (perhaps even at the request of the Russians) when he was sent as a special Ambassador to Tsar Boris Godunov in 1604. He left London at Gravesend on 13th June, reached the Archangel on 22nd July, whence he travelled by river and overland to Moscow and was escorted into the presence of the Tsar on 11th October 1604.

The English coach in the Kremlin Armoury Museum (Fig. 3) has always been recognised as an English gift in the imperial stables and treasury, and has been studied by Russian scholars from Veltman in the 19th century (when the

⁷⁹ Stuart Piggott: *Wagon, Chariot and Carriage*, 1992, pp. 157-9, quoting M. Strachan: *Sir Thomas Roe 1581-1644: A Life* (1989); for the full documentation of the visit, see W. Foster (ed.): *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India 1615-19* (1926); and for an Indian miniature showing Sir Thomas Roe sitting in the Emperor's court, see P. Barber: *Diplomacy, the World of the Honest Spy*, 1979, no. 58, pl. V (from the British Museum Oriental Department, 1933-6-10-01).

⁸⁰ Julian Munby: 'The Moscow Coach: 'A rich chariot, one parcel of the great present'', in Olga Dmitrieva and Tessa Murdoch: *Treasures of the Royal Courts. Tudors, Stuarts & the Russian Tsars*, V&A, 2013, pp. 158-65.

⁸¹ *Sir Thomas Smithes Voiage and Entertainment in Rushia, with the Tragical Ends of two Emperors and one Empress* (1605), was (incompletely) reproduced in Samuel Purchas's compilation *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625), III.iv, pp. 747-54, and reprinted by Hakluyt Society (Extra Series) as *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, XIV (1906), pp. 132ff.

State Archives were still in the Kremlin) to Kirillova in the 20th century⁸². There is no English documentation for the production of Smith's coach, though its presence in the Tsar's stables is recorded. Curiously, its first appearance in a Russian stable inventory (a later copy of an earlier text) describes it as having been delivered in 1625, thought to be an error in numbering⁸³.

The general character of the coach is unremarkable for its period, and is similar to the London coaches illustrated in the *Album Amicorum* of Hieronymus Tielsch, c.1603 (Huntington Library) and of Michael van Meer c.1615 (Edinburgh), previously mentioned.

The undercarriage has larger wheels at the back, smaller wheels at the front, separated by a perch that pivots on the turning fore-axle (the wheels, as so often, were replaced later). The coach body is suspended by leather straps from a decorative standard mounted above the axles at the front and back, and secured in an upright position by pairs of elaborately decorated steel braces. There were at this date no springs on the body suspension, but there were numerous iron components of straps and bolts, including the support for the 'boot' (the step/seat on each side) and the framework for the leather and velvet mudguards above the wheels.

The top and bottoms of the standards are carved with swags of fruit and rosettes (with birds pecking at the fruit) – sources for these would include engraved endpieces e.g. found in Geneva Bibles. The uprights have human supporters, including a man holding a severed head, and a female warrior with a gun. There are decorative cartouches on the standards, and heraldic displays of the imperial arms (with English supporters of Lion and Unicorn), and a St George and the Dragon – a patron saint of both England and Moscow.

The coach body is carved on all sides. At the ends are large and vivid scenes of a battle and triumph, a tribute to the military prowess of Ivan the Awesome (the Battle of Kazan, 1552) or Boris Godunov (defending Moscow from the Crimean Tatars in 1591); they depict the Tsar with a Russian standard attacking and enemy with turbans and a crescent standard, then returning in an open chariot in a victory parade with many guns firing. Sources for battle scenes are most likely the battles of the Kings of Israel against their (similarly attired)

⁸² Lyubov Kirillova: 'An English 'Charyott' for Boris Godunov', in Olga Dmitrieva and Natalya Abramova, *Britannia & Muscovy. English Silver at the Court of the Tsars*, Yale, 2006, pp. 196-7.

⁸³ By coincidence, the records of the Goldsmith's Company there is some evidence that a coach was being prepared in London for the Tsar in 1624, but there is certainly no record of it being delivered to Moscow; see Munby: 'The Moscow Coach'.

infidel enemies, as illustrated by Jost Amman (1539-91) in his 1565 *Biblia*, while classical victories were also a common subject of engravings⁸⁴.

Equally lively, colourful and deep-carved are the four hunting scenes on the sides flanking the doors showing men and dogs attacking their prey. Two (lion and leopard) are shown in eastern dress, and two (boar and bear) in western dress. The stylised landscape settings have a similarity to the English plasterwork of the High Chamber at Hardwick Hall (Derbyshire) but the figures derive from engraved sources, typically the 1578 *Venationes* of Joannes Stradanus (1523-1607), as also seen in the hunting scenes in the Medici villa frescoes commissioned in 1599 by Grand Duke Ferdinand I (1563-1609) for the Villa Artimino and painted by Giusto d' Utens (born in Brussels, died Carrara 1609) between 1599 and 1602⁸⁵.

The eight velvet-covered columns supporting the roof are inhabited by a menagerie of 32 animals (bases) and 32 birds (capitals), including giraffe, elephant, and chameleon, turkey, peacock, and ostrich.

Above the carved hunting and battle panels is a frieze, with a series of small painted landscape panels separated by carved flowers. The landscapes include scenes of hunting, fowling and fishing are in Netherlandish style, of the kind depicted in the late 16th-century engravings of the 'Master of the small landscapes', or Peter Brueghel the Elder. Even the narrow rails below the landscapes have a series of painted scenes including hunters and St George and the Dragon, while the corner posts have painted floral patterns and trophies, possibly by the court painter Ivan Besmin in 1678 when the coach was restored. At this date the red velvet textiles were also renewed or replaced, the ceiling refashioned (with its central panel of St George and the dragon outlined in pearls), and the throne of Iranian velvet installed.

⁸⁴ J.S. Peters (ed.): *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 20 (Pt 1): Jost Amman (Norwalk 1985), p. 265, 1. 34.

⁸⁵ D. Mignani: *The Medicean Villas by Giusto Utens*, 1991 etc, pp. 86, 89. The Medici *Guardaroba* accounts record payments between June 1599 and 1602, and show that two had been painted by November 1599: Mignani 11, notes 4-6, referring to unpublished dissertation of Susan Brown: *The Medici Villa at Artimino*, 1970, and W. Smith: 'Pratolino', *Jnl. Soc. Archit. Hist.* XX (1961), p. 155 n.7. The Medici lunettes are now in the city's museum 'Firenze Come'era'. For Hardwick and engraved sources, see Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Influence of Continental Prints, 1558-1625* (Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1997).

The Royal Stables and The Wardrobe of James I

The Wardrobe records for James I continue from those of Queen Elizabeth, but without the fully descriptive Warrants that occur in Queen Elizabeth's reign; they are rather warrants for payment to individual craftsmen rather than descriptions of individual coaches. The series of Wardrobe Accounts is broken, but there is an almost complete set of duplicate versions in the Audit Office copies, and only gap is for 1615-18⁸⁶. It is unknown what equipage was brought down from Edinburgh to London in 1603, but it is clear from contemporary descriptions that the King was often on horseback, and indeed when offered a coach in York he said 'I will have no coach, for the people are desirous to see a King, and so they shall, for they shall as well see his body as his face'⁸⁷. The Stable Warrant of August 1603 included 'six Scotts saddles' for the King, and matters that seem to continue as if there had been no change of monarch⁸⁸. The magnificent entry of James I to London in March 1604 (the first since Queen Elizabeth's coronation procession in 1559) was a fantastic affair with a series of triumphal arches, verse and song, devised by Thomas Decker, Ben Johnson, and Stephen Harrison, but it was perhaps intended to be seen from horseback rather than a coach, and the King did not attempt to endear himself to the London populace and took little pleasure in the people or the performance⁸⁹.

A stable warrant of June 1604 accounted for two coaches '*Redae vulgo carroches*' for the King and Prince Henry with carved supporters (and crowned gilded unicorns) made by John Banks and Robert More (£144) with ironwork by Thomas Larkin (£82) and painting and gilding by Leonard Fryer (£135). At the same time John Greene was paid £157 for covering one of '*les shewe carroches*' with leather⁹⁰. It should be said that although there may have been a distinction between a coach and a carroche, it seems just as likely that this was a new name for the same item. In the following two years there is no sign of any new coaches, then in March 1606 (the year in which Queen Anne established a separate household)⁹¹ there are another two *rhedae*/carroches for the King and Princess Elizabeth made by 'Bankert' and More (£144) with gilt and silvered

⁸⁶ PRO, AO series, AO3/1115 to 1119 (James I); I owe this information to the kindness of Dr Hilary Turner.

⁸⁷ J. Nichols: *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities, of King James the First*, 4 vols, 1828, i.80.

⁸⁸ Warrant of 10 August 1603, LC5/37 f.293-302.

⁸⁹ Graham Parry: *The Golden Age Restor'd, The Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603-42*, 1981, pp. 1-21.

⁹⁰ Warrant of 18 June 1604, AO 3/1115a (1st book in 1115 (unfoliated), around f.27).

⁹¹ Parry: *Golden Age*, p. 59.

ironwork by Larkin (£80), painting and gilding by John de Critz (£100), a hide covering by Thomas Cure and John Bingham (£60) and a velvet lining by Thomas Waring (£105)⁹². John de Critz was King James's Sergeant Painter from May 1605, following on from Leonard Fryer who had served Queen Elizabeth since 1598; the post included decoration of royal barges and coaches as much as any other activities⁹³. In September 1607 there was a coach for the young Prince Henry (1594-1612) made by the same team for about £450 (with cover and lining by Abraham Abercrombie and damask curtains)⁹⁴. In the following year there was a warrant for a coach for the Queen with a lining of velvet watchet for over £300, and in 1609 one for the King at the same cost with a lining of 'velvet colour' and damask curtains⁹⁵. Repairs to two coaches (*Rhedae*) in 1608 were continued or repeated in the next year (two old *rhedae*, 'anglice Cowches', along with two more *rhedae*, 'anglice Waggon's')⁹⁶. In nearly all of these John Banks and Robert More were together responsible for the coachwork, perhaps one on the body and one the undercarriage. Robert More was the 'coachmaker' who made Queen Elizabeth's chariot in 1599 (and the two models), but Banks was a new arrival; they had been jointly appointed to the office of maker of the King's coaches and close cars in January 1604⁹⁷. These coaches typically cost around £50 to make, and up to £500 to furnish and decorate, usually painted or gilded by John de Critz.

It is impossible to tell how many of the regular appearances in the annual accounts refer to the continuation of tasks from previous years. The painted and gilded coach for the King accounted for in 1610 might be a same one worked on in 1609; there were also repairs to four old coaches in 1610, which were again paid for in 1611⁹⁸. Unlike Elizabeth's Wardrobe accounts it is harder to link these to specific warrants for work, though this can often be guessed. The King's young family also needed their own transport: Princess Elizabeth, now

⁹² Warrant of 14 March 1606, LC9/95 ff.6-29; duplicate account in AO 3/1115c.

⁹³ H.M. Colvin et al.: *The History of the King's Works III 1485-1660*, 1975, p. 411; Oliver Millar: *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, 1963, p. 79.

⁹⁴ Warrant of 23 Sept. 1607, LC9/95 ff.53-67; and duplicate account in AO 3/1115c.

⁹⁵ Warrant of 26 Sept. 1608, AO 3/1116a, around f.28; Warrant of 24 Sept. 1609, AO 3/1116b, f.19.

⁹⁶ AO 3/1116a, around f.32 (1608); AO 3/1116b, f.24v (1609).

⁹⁷ On 6 January 1604, *Cal. State Papers Domestic James I: 1603-1610*, 65 (PRO SP14/6); the will of John Banks is in the National Archives, PROB11/190. Banks also undertook work for the Earl of Dorset in 1607, Kent Record Office U269 A1/1 (where he is described as 'coachmaker'). I owe these references to Edward Town.

⁹⁸ Warrant of 27 Sept. 1610, AO 3/1116c.

aged twelve, returned to court in 1608⁹⁹, and the 1609 warrant included two carriages (*rhedae* 'anglice Waggon's'), one for the ladies and one for the Prince¹⁰⁰. Prince Henry became Prince of Wales in 1610 (aged 14), with his own court at St James's Palace¹⁰¹. In 1611 two coaches were made for Charles Duke of York (the future King) and the Princess Elizabeth¹⁰². The Queen had a new coach in 1612, as did Elizabeth's prospective husband, the Prince Palatine¹⁰³. The tragic death of the cultured and promising Prince Henry from typhoid fever and promising Prince Henry from typhoid fever occurred in November 1612 and he was carried to Westminster Abbey on an open 'chariot', 'covered with a black velvet, set with plumes of black feathers', drawn by six horses, and with a canopy of black velvet held over it, and later buried in Henry VII's Chapel there¹⁰⁴.

With one child lost, another was to depart to a new life, when in 1613 Princess Elizabeth left England to marry Frederick the Elector Palatine, of Heidelberg Castle in the Rhineland, the happy start to her unfortunate career as the 'Winter Queen'. The arrival of the Elector was spectacular enough, and the costs of putting up his train at Charing Cross amounted to £73 16s, just between March and April 1613, while he had brought with him in February a 'rich coach' as a present for his bride to be, together with two coachmen and a servant who cost 5s 6d a day¹⁰⁵. The expenses of her journey to Dover include the cost of her coaches and coachmen¹⁰⁶, while her embarkation for this journey at Margate is shown in a painting in the royal collection, in which two open coaches are depicted on the beach, each with red lining...¹⁰⁷ A tedious journey up the Rhine ensued, which Elizabeth eventually managed to escape by taking to the road. Her entry to Heidelberg is illustrated in a contemporary engraving which shows her stepping from a fairly plain travelling coach while another and more gloriously

⁹⁹ Parry: *Golden Age*, p. 95.

¹⁰⁰ Warrant of 24 Sept. 1609, AO 3/1116b.

¹⁰¹ Parry: *Golden Age*, p. 70.

¹⁰² Warrant of 25 Sept. 1611, AO 3/1116d.

¹⁰³ Warrant of 28 Sept. 1612, AO 3/1117a.

¹⁰⁴ Parry: *Golden Age*, p. 87, quoting from account of funeral procession in Thomas Birch: *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales Eldest Son of King James I*, 1760, p. 528.

¹⁰⁵ F. Devon: *Issues of the Exchequer... James I*, 1836, p. 162.

¹⁰⁶ G.C. Young: 'Account of the sums dispersed.....expenses of the Lady Elizabeth... and her husband the Elector Palatyn... 1613', *Archaeologia* xxv (1853), pp. 1-17.

¹⁰⁷ Rosalind K. Marshall: *The Winter Queen The Life of Elizabeth of Bohemia 1596-1662*, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh 1998.

decorated vehicle is being drawn up, presumably for her reception¹⁰⁸. Another engraving of their entry to Prague shows three coaches in a long procession¹⁰⁹.

One final addition to this busy sequence of coach building was a pair of coaches made for the Queen in 1615 by Robert More ‘painted and gilded and covered with red cloth embroidered with borders of red black and grey kersey, with fine work of cruell roses and letters of divers colours, and ribbon and loops of red Spanish silk for decorating the outside and inside, with buckles and loops of Spanish silk for the cover.....’ Its cost was £54 for timberwork, £31 for William Bourman’s ironwork, £32 decoration by John de Critz, £28 for furnishing by George Johnson, and £35 for embroidery by William Brodericke, with around another £50 for materials¹¹⁰.

In 1616 George Villiers (1592-1628) a courtier and favourite of King James I, became Master of the Horse (and was successively ennobled as Viscount in 1616, Earl in 1617, Marquis in 1618 and finally Duke of Buckingham in 1623)¹¹¹. The new Household Regulations in 1618 saw the Wardrobe expenditure almost halved, but there is not much indication of less spending in the stables¹¹². There is a hiatus in the official records, with fewer accounts (as Buckingham seems to have been paid for the stables directly),¹¹³ but the recent deposit of the Graham of Norton Conyers papers in the British Library have made accessible some important materials for James I’s stable.¹¹⁴ Richard Graham (c.1583-1654) was Gentleman of the Horse to Buckingham and the King), and his papers contain much material, including accounts for stables and horses in both establishments.¹¹⁵ These include, for example, an account for two new carroches in 1624 by the leading London coachmaker Richard Brigham:

¹⁰⁸ Engraving by Georg Keller: *Beschreibung der Reiss* (1613), illustrated by Marshall, *Winter Queen*, pl. 23; Astrid Tyden-Jordan, *Drottning Kristinas Krönings-kaross*, Stockholm Livrustkammaren, 1990, p. 63; and Jobé: *Au temps des cochers*, 1976, p. 55.

¹⁰⁹ Marshall: *Winter Queen*, pl 31.

¹¹⁰ Warrant of 28 Sept. 1615, LC9/97, ff.55v-56v.

¹¹¹ Roger Lockyer: ‘Villiers, George, first duke of Buckingham (1592–1628)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) online edn, May 2011 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28293>, accessed 3 April 2015]

¹¹² R.H. Tawney: *Business and Politics under James I: Lionel Cranfield as Merchant and Minister*, 1958, 152 ff.

¹¹³ See for example the Warrant of 7 October 1624 to pay Buckingham £3,000 for ‘provisions and services in His Majesties Stables’, LC9/98, f.23.

¹¹⁴ BL Additional MSS 81599 to 81614; Additional Charters 77172 etc.

¹¹⁵ R.T. Spence: ‘The First Sir Richard Graham of Norton Conyers and Netherby, 1583-1653’, *Northern History* XVI, p. 104; see member biographies in Andrew Thrush and John P. Ferris (eds): *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1604-1629*, 2010, – online

‘strongly framed and very nicely carved with Freeses Anticks & satires and garnished with sondry ornaments and mouldings very curiously wrought & embossed, and his Majesties Armes, badges, Crownes, Supporters and mottoes highly carved in sondry places, the standers off the same framed and mortaysed with pullyes for the same to hang all on springes off steele and for all manner of necessaryes vizt. Extrees, Carriages and wheells.....

one off them to be made off the German fashion with the Roufe to fall asunder at his Majesties pleasure and the other off the Spanish fashion with deipe framed Bottoms sett together with vices and screwes the like of them haveing never been made before in this kingdom the invention and performance of them being very chargeable to the workmen the price is £130¹¹⁶.

The roof in ‘German fashion’ sounds like the collapsible roof of a landau, but quite what were the ‘deep framed bottoms’ of the ‘Spanish fashion’ is unclear. Meanwhile, the fleet of royal coaches that had been built up continued to be maintained and developed, and the same 1624 account, and the next for 1624-25 includes repairs to no fewer than ten named ‘caroches’: the Red velvet; Old red; Rich Ambassador’s; Crimson velvet; Rich Spanish; Blue; German; Blue Spanish; Tawney Chariot; Red German; Green velvet (£79 11s 2d).

These were the last recorded works on James I’s coaches, for by March 1625 he was dead, and Charles I was on the throne. The opening years of the new reign is documented in a splendid series of warrants that have been published in full by Arthur MacGregor¹¹⁷. The warrants for payment (typically made a decade later) show that Richard Brigham was still the coachmaker, and Jan de Critz painting and gilding; the vehicles are described as Carroches and Chariots and the driver as a ‘Charioteer’¹¹⁸. The first of the warrants was an order for three carroches lined respectively with crimson, green, and watchet [light blue] velvet (with silk fringes and silver and gold laces), also three carroches ‘of the French Fashion’ for the Queen lined with crimson velvet (one of them all embroidered on the back seat), silver and gold lace and damask curtains, and in addition two carroches for Ladies lined with red stammett cloth lined with silk fringe. The other trimmings and fittings are described, as is the

text at: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/graham-richard-1583-1654> [accessed 3 April 2015].

¹¹⁶ BL. Add. MSS 81600.

¹¹⁷ MacGregor: ‘Horsegear, Vehicles and Stable equipment ...’, 1996, as above note 33, prints eight warrants dating from May 1626 to June 1630 from PRO, LC5/78.

¹¹⁸ The accounts relating to these warrants are not in the main Wardrobe series (PRO, LC9) but in the Audit Office duplicate accounts for 1626-1630 (PRO, AO 3/1119 and 3/1120), which confusingly originate from much later warrants for payment, dated 1635-1636.

matching harness. These seem to be the last of the warrants that specify in detail the design, colour and materials, and the later warrants for payment from Charles I reign only offer tantalising hints, such as the order for payment to John de Critz in December 1630 for painting the panels of two new coaches curiously worked and painted with stories and antick heads¹¹⁹.

The Lisbon Coach

We must now leave the English court and finish with a remarkable relic preserved in the Museu Nacional dos Coches in Lisbon (Fig. 4), thought to be the coach used by Philip III of Spain (1578-621) on his entry to Lisbon in 1619 (where he ruled as Philip II from 1598-1621) on his reluctant and long-postponed visit to Portugal. In the event it was an extravagant stay of five months that included lavish receptions, expensive decorations, an auto-da-fé and other festivities¹²⁰. The whole trip was recorded in an illustrated account by the royal chronicler, and the entry into Lisbon notable for its magnificence and for its extensive use of ephemeral architecture by the city and other bodies to express a complex series of political messages¹²¹. By contrast the coach is rather a modest affair, covered in black leather and with a standard red undercarriage, perhaps reflecting the King's wish for the manner of his appearance. While it is thus widely different from the decoration of the English coach in the Kremlin, its structure is quite alike, and indeed not dissimilar from those now appearing all over Europe in paintings of town views as a standard artefact of almost invariable design: a trapezoidal leather-covered box with a boot on each side and a driver perched at the front, the leather braces with huge brass buckles suspended from timber standards held by bent iron or steel rods. Whether it was made in Madrid or the Netherlands is hardly the point – it could have been made in either, as the coach had now become a Europe-wide phenomenon, and could be ridden in by a King or a merchant.

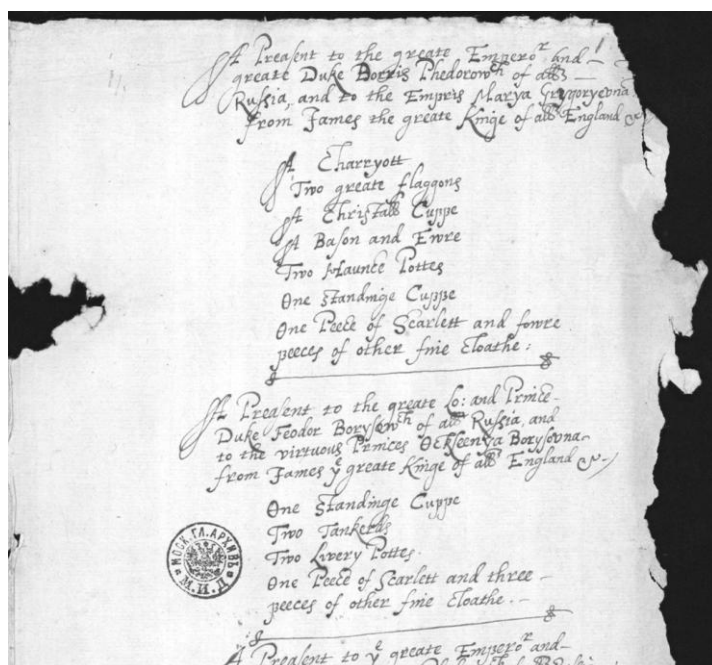
¹¹⁹ PRO LC 9/99 f.4v.

¹²⁰ H.V. Livermore: *A History of Portugal* (1947), p. 277.

¹²¹ J.B. Lavanha: *Viagem da Catholica Real Magestade del Rey D. Filipe II N.S. ao Reyno de Portugal e rellação do solene recebimento que nelle se lhe fez S. Magestade*, Madrid 1622; Alejandro López Álvarez: *Poder, lujo y conflicto en la corte de los Austrias. Coches, carrozas y sillas de mano 1550-1700*, Madrid 2007, p. 89.



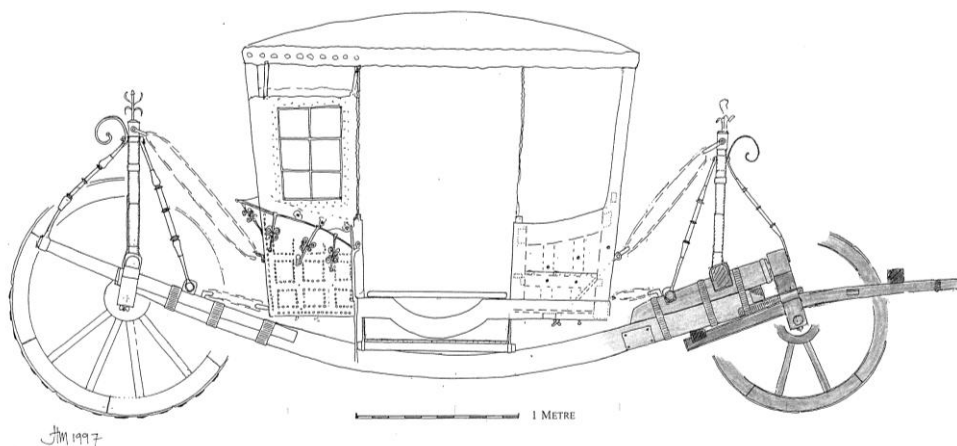
1. Illustration of a London coach, c.1603 from *Album Amicorum* of Hieronymus Tielsch, (HM 25863, f.6). Courtesy of Henry Huntington Library, San Marino.



2. Sir Thomas Smith's delivery note for his ambassadorial presents in 1604 including 'A Charryott', Russian State Archives (RGADA, Fund 35, opis' 1, delo 44, f.1). Courtesy of Kremlin Armoury Museum, Moscow.



3. The English Coach of 1604 in the Kremlin Armoury Museum, Moscow. Photo Peter Kelleher, Courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



4. Coach used by King Philip III for his entry into Lisbon in 1619, Museu Nacional dos Coches, Lisbon. Drawn by author.

